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## Four Tati Sub-Dialects

EHSAN YARSHATER, New York

The following is a grammatical sketch which applies to four Tati sub-dialects spoken in the Shāhrud and Khoresh-e Rostam counties (*baxš*) in Khalkhāl province (*šahrestān*) situated in the southeastern corner of Azerbaijan, south of Ardebil and north of Miyāneh. They differ from the dialects of more northerly villages (Shāl, Kolar, Derow, Asbu, Askestān) as well as the more southerly villages (Gilavān, Goluzān, and Tahārom) by distinguishing grammatical gender. They consist of the sub-dialects spoken in Karan, Lerd, and Diz in Shahrud, and Karnaq in Khoresh-e Rostam.

In distinguishing grammatical gender they are in line with the Tati sub-dialects of Kajal, in Kāghazkonān county of Khakhāl, and Nowkiān in the Upper Tārom in northern Zanjān as well as the Rāmandi sub-dialects spoken southwest of Qazvin (Tākestān, Chāl, Esfarvarin, Khiāraj, Ebrāhimābād, and Sagzābād) and Eshtehārd in Sāvejbolāgh; they differ, however, from these dialects by the fact that, except in the case of humans, the application of grammatical gender depends on the number and on whether a noun refers to a countable or uncountable object. I have taken Karani, for which I had ampler material, as the model and have pointed out the nuances in the other three sub-dialects where necessary. Where no indication of the villages is given Karani is meant.

Lerd is the largest of the four villages; in 1950 it had some 350 households or about 1750 souls (RAZMĀRĀ, who had collected his material some 15 years earlier gives the population as 1276 inhabitants<sup>1</sup>); next comes Karan<sup>2</sup> with 656, then Karnaq<sup>3</sup> with 568, and Diz<sup>4</sup> with 386 inhabitants.

All four villages are situated in mountainous areas and their economy is based on cultivation of cereals, particularly wheat and barley, fruits, some animal husbandry, and working in Gilān during the fall and winter mostly as sawyers and carpenters in lumber mills. Some women in the villages weave woolen blankets (*jājim*). In all the villages Turkish is also spoken and borrowed Turkish words can be found in their speech. All their inhabitants are Twelvers Shi'ites.

In 1963 the villages could not be reached by car, only mule-going paths were available. In 1965, however, when I managed to visit Diz and Karan, the Italians

1 RAZMĀRĀ: *Farhang-e Joghvāfiā'i-e Iran*. Vol. 4. Tehran 1951, p. 474.  
 2 Spelled Karin, in RAZMĀRĀ 1951, p. 416; the local pronunciation is Karan.  
 3 RAZMĀRĀ 1951, p. 415.  
 4 RAZMĀRĀ 1951, p. 227.

who were after old walnut trunks of the area for their furniture factories, had built a hazardous and bumpy dirt road for small lorries to carry walnut trunks from Karan and nearby villages to Herow, the administrative center of Khalkhāl. (A walnut tree takes about 10 to 15 years to bear fruit and in some 30 to 35 years reaches the height of its productivity. The old walnut trees targeted by the Italians had an average age of 300 years, I was told.) I reached Karan by this road. The stumps of old walnut trees could be seen around the village.

Lerd's agricultural products are mainly wheat and barley, cultivated partly by dry farming and partly by irrigation. It has several good springs, considered to have been made holy (*nazargāh*) by an Imam, and a small river. Its orchards produce especially pears, apples, walnut, and apricots. To store the grass fodder for winter they pile it up on house roofs in the form of long truncated cones. The main fuel is dry dung which they shape into loaves and then dry and store. Some vessels as well as beehives are also made with dung. The locals mentioned some old graves which had been dug up in the hope of finding antique objects. At the time of my visit many of the Lerdīs would go in wintertime to Māsāl, Shānderman, etc in Tālesh, and Langarud, Rasht, Fouman, etc. in Gilān for carpentry.

I collected my material on the dialect of the villages in the course of three trips to Khalkhāl in 1950, 1963, and 1965 as well by using a Karani informant in Tehran upon returning from my last trip.

My first informant for Karani was REZĀQOLI REZĀ'Ī, 60, with a rudiment of literacy; I met him first in Herow in the October of 1950. My second informant for Karani was MASHHADI SALMĀN, the superintendent in Karan of Mr. AHMAD KHĀTAMI, one of the Shāhrud landowners. In the summer of 1965 in the course of my third trip when I managed to visit Karan and Diz, I learned of ALMAN YAZDĀN-PANĀH, a Karani who had moved to Tehran. I met him in February of 1965 in Tehran. He had been a farmer as well as a carpenter in Karan; his wife was also from Karan and they spoke Karani at home. He was 35, illiterate, and a born storyteller, who treated me to a long narrative, probably with some embellishments, of some of the events which had occurred in Karan years earlier.

My first informant for Lerdī was NĀṢER BUZARI, an illiterate carpenter of 30 who had moved to Herow for work when he was 15, but each summer would go back to his village. I met him in the October of 1950 in Herow where he worked with other Lerdīs, and with whom he spoke the dialect of his village. My second informant for Lerdī was MAJID NAṢIRI, 70, illiterate, who was available to me for three days in Shāl, a village in Shāhrud of Khalkhāl; my third informant was a farmer, BERĀJĀN AYYĀMI, 45, illiterate, who was brought to Karan as an informant in August of 1965.

My first informant for Karanāqi was SHOJĀ' KABIRI, 38, an illiterate smith who had left Karanāq three days earlier for Kolor, a village in Shāhrud of Khalkhāl, where I met him in August of 1963. My second informant was KĀSEGOL ERSHĀDI, 35, illiterate, who was brought to Karan as an informant in August of 1965. In

the same year, on my third trip to Khalkhāl, following my request the headman of Karanāq came to Karan and served as one of the informants.

My informants for Dizī were AKBAR 'ALIZĀDEH, 38, literate, whom I met in Shāl in early September of 1965, and ZABIHOLLĀH MOZAFFARI, 32, literate, both inhabitants of Diz and quite intelligent. On my trip to Karan, I visited Diz, but did not stop there for long.

## Phonology

1. *The vowels.* Karani vowels are: *e* (ə), *ā*, *a*, *i*, *o*, *u*, (*ü*).

1.1. Although *ə* is clearly heard in a number of words, e.g., *gənas(s)an* 'to fall', *pəšt* 'back', *mərəz* 'tool', *izəm* 'firewood', *cəmen* 'my, mine' no contrastive pairs were encountered to distinguish it from *e* as a phoneme; it appears mostly in the vicinity of labials. In the following, *ə* is transcribed as *e*.

1.2. *ā* has an articulation between a somewhat open /*o*/ and /*a*/; it is particularly round when followed by a nasal. In my notations I have regularly rendered it by *ā*.

1.3. *ü* is heard in a number of words, possibly as a result of Turkish influence, e.g., *büdürin!* 'reap!', but phonemically it is not distinguished from *u*. Occasionally it alternates with *i* apparently by assimilation; e.g., *dürüninde/dürininde* 'they reap'.

2. *The Consonants.* Karani consonants are *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *q*, *c*, *j*, *f*, *v*, *w*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *x*, (*x<sup>w</sup>*), *h*, *l*, *r*, *ɣ*.

2.1. Plosives, particularly *k* and *g*, when followed by a high vowel (*i*, *u*) are pronounced more palatal than when followed by a low vowel, although the differentiation is not as pronounced as in Kalāsuri-Xoynarudi-Karingāni group in the north of Azerbaijan; e.g., *cik* 'i-rā?' 'for whom?', *kaffā* 'up, above', *ga* 'must'; *e/ə* is treated as a low vowel, e.g., *degenes* (*dəgənas*) 'it fell'. In *ka* 'house' and *gavvān* 'cowherd', however, *k* and *g* are palatal on account of the original *i* which followed them and of which a trace is still left in careful speech: *k'a*, *g'avān*.

2.2. *x<sup>w</sup>* was noted in two words *x<sup>w</sup>aš* 'well, pleasant' (*xodā x<sup>w</sup>aš ā?* 'does it please God?'), and the verbal stems *x<sup>w</sup>ar-/x<sup>w</sup>ard-* 'to eat', but it does not stand in phonemic contrast to *x*. *q* is a semi-fricative uvular, close to Persian *q*.

3. *Lengthening.* Lengthening of vowels occurs on occasion apparently as a balancing measure; e.g., *kama* (f.) 'sieve', *ka:mé*, the oblique of the same; *dava* 'camel (Turk.)', *da:vān*, plural oblique of the same.

4. *Gemination*. Gemination occurs frequently, sometimes in compensation for an omitted sound, e.g., *jabba* 'box' < *ja'ba*; *assar* 'mule' < *astar*, but sometimes with no such reason, e.g., *qassam* 'oath' (possibly as a result of intended emphasis?). It is seen frequently in verbs. It seems that the dialect has a tendency to avoid the sequence of an open syllable and a closed one, and that it changes open syllables to closed ones by gemination to establish a balance of length, e.g., *xossem* 'I sleep', *beššend* 'they went', cf. *do(s)so nafar* 'two or three people/a couple of people'.

5. *Assimilation*. Assimilation of both vowels and consonants occur. In vowels, notably the vowel of the modal prefix *be-* and the negative particle *ne-* are often assimilated to the following vowel; cf. *bebe* 'it became', *agar bi-šia* 'if he goes', *bo-xorute* 'he sold', *bo-x<sup>w</sup>arem* '(that) I eat', *büdürin!* 'reap!'; cf. *su(<so) ruj* 'three days'. This may be a case of *vowel harmony* influenced or strengthened by the Turkish language, which has been spreading in these villages and has already driven Tati dialects out of most villages of Khalkhāl. The dental nasal changes into labial when followed by a voiced labial, e.g., *man xoštan-nam beba* (< *xoštan-nan beba*) 'take me with you'. A degree of devoicing occurs in some contexts by assimilation when *g*, *d*, *j* and *v* are followed by an unvoiced consonant, e.g., *man kark x<sup>w</sup>arda* 'I ate chicken', otherwise *karg*.

6. *Intonation*. Three kinds of sentence intonations are observed: rising, falling, and level. In a sentence consisting of a main and a subordinate clause, the subordinate clause ends with a rising intonation, the main clause with a falling one. If in such sentences there are two coordinated main clauses, the second one gets the falling and the first one the level intonation, eg., *con nimāsiri be | hari i bār ābesse | bāma ka |* 'as the sun was setting' (lit. it was sunset) each one packed a load (and) came home'; *vāš-i k(e) dürini | vā nes bekarā | este vāšān bāva ka |* 'the grass that you reap, halve (it) there, and bring home your grass (pl.)'.

## Morpho-syntax

### 8. Number and case

8.1. Karani distinguishes two numbers, singular and plural, two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, and two cases, direct and oblique. Feminine nouns end in an unstressed *-a* in the singular direct case. The gender is not distinguished in the oblique case. The marker for oblique singular and direct plural is the same. The case endings for the substantives are as follows:

	Sing.	Pl.
Direct	m.: - $\emptyset$ f.: - <i>a</i> (unstressed)	m./f.: - <i>e</i> (stressed)
Oblique	m./f.: - <i>e</i> (stressed)	m./f.: - <i>ān</i> (stressed)

8.2. Oblique in *-r*. The group has retained the oblique in *-r* in nouns of kinship, e.g., Karani: *mā/mār* 'mother', *pe/piar* 'father', *berā/berār* 'brother', *xāw/xāwar* 'sister', *zan/zanar* 'wife', *šū/šūar* 'husband', *zā/zār* 'son', *deta/detar* 'daughter', *amuzā/amuzār* 'paternal cousin'. However, the rule does not apply to *zāmā* 'son-in-law', *véya* 'bride', *xeyvar* 'husband's brother', *mā* 'husband's sister', *bābā* 'grandfather', *māmā* 'grandmother'; and Dizi *xasurā* 'husband's father', cf. Karani *pe-m Māsāl-e ku āgardes* 'my father returned from Māsāl', but *cemen piar pul man āde* 'give me my father's money'. Note that in the plural direct of kinship nouns the forms in *-r* are used, e.g., *cemen det-a bešā Xerā* 'my daughter went to Xerā (= Herowābād, the administrative center of Khalkhāl)', but *cemen berār-e/detar-e bāmenda* 'my brothers/daughters came (back)'.

### 9. Gender

9.1. All nouns are treated grammatically as either masculine or feminine. In nouns denoting a human the grammatical gender follows the natural one. All nouns denoting an individual instance are treated as masculine. All generic nouns abstracted from a definite singular item are treated as feminine and take the feminine marker *-a*. All nouns denoting objects which cannot be counted, such as water, sky, fire, milk, charcoal, ash, money, are treated as generic nouns. The grammatical gender is distinguished in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular of verbs by adding a final *-a* in the present tenses and a final *-ā* in the past tenses.<sup>5</sup> The masculine and feminine of 'is' are *-e* and *-ā*, respectively, and those of 'is not' *ni(e)* and *niā*; the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular ending *-e* in verbs narrows into *-i* when followed by the feminine marker *-a/-ā*. Examples: *Hasan dalū-e* 'Hasan (m.) is crazy', *Zeynab-a dalu-ā* 'Zeynab (f.) is crazy', *cālā ku degene/degēnia* 'he/she falls in a hollow'; *bevazz-e/bevazz-iā* '(that) he/she run', *bām-e* 'he came', *bāmi-ā* 'she came', *Hasan devašta be* 'Hasan had run away', *Zeynab-a devašta biā* 'Zeynab had run away'; *cemen zā beše Xerā* 'my son went to Xerā'; *cemen det-a bešā Xerā* 'my daughter went to Xerā'; *pār nān gerān be* 'last year bread was expensive'; *yuz-é akarām bāne ku xošk ābi* 'let's spread (lit. pour) the walnuts (generic singular) on the roof to dry', but *em asif-a kermjulin-ā* (f.) 'this apple is worm-ridden'; *em yuz-é agi bebar bān-e ku bene*, *be dā xošk ābi-ā* (f.) 'take this walnut, carry (and) put (it) on the roof to dry'; *ow arzān ne be* (m.) 'water was

5 One of my informants made *-a* farther back, changing it into *-ā* in the present and subjunctive, possibly under the influence of the preterit feminine marker *-ā*, e.g., *Hasan ga devazze* 'Hasan must run', *Zeynaba ga devazzi-ā* 'Zeynab must run'.

not cheap'; *zoqāl nusuje* (m.) 'the charcoal is not burning', *izem nusuje* (m.) 'the firewood is not burning', *šet sard ābe* (m.) 'the milk became cold', *xāk sard ābe* (m.) 'the ash became cold'; *cāy qand-e ku arzāntar-e* (m.) 'tea is cheaper than sugar', cf. *came(n) cāy-a šira nia* (f.) 'my (cup of) tea is not sweet' (notice that the word for tea in this context takes the feminine ending -a), *āru āsmān sāf be* (m.) 'today the sky was clear', *ātaš jigenes qālica sar* (m.) 'fire fell on the rug', *dezz-e pul* (m.) *agat o devašt* 'the thief took the money and fled'; *man zer ow* (m.) *hinta* 'yesterday I drank water'.

9.2. The names of seasons as well as the words for the sun and the moon are feminine as they are conceived as singular, e.g., *zemestān-a bāmiā* (f.) 'the winter arrived', *behār-a bar-šīā* (f.) 'the spring passed'; *mong-a bar-āmiā* 'the moon rose' (f.).

NB. In *ēste asb-a zanda-y-ā* 'your horse has given birth' the verb *zandan* is treated as an intransitive verb; -y- is a connective sound.

9.3. All nouns denoting animals, including birds and insects, take a feminine form when individual, even when the noun refers to a male animal, such as a ram, or when preceded by the modifier *nara* 'male'; e.g., *em bēz-a kuk-ā* (f.) 'this goat is fat', *em qōcc-a kuk-ā* (f.) 'this ram is fat', *ēste nara piši-a garin-ā* (f.) 'your tomcat is mangy', *nara āsb-a lāqar-ā* (f.) 'the male horse is thin', *nar(r)a asb-a māya asbē* (oblique) *behtar-ā* (f.) 'the stallion is better than the mare' (a single, definite stallion is meant).

In nouns ending in -a and -ā their final vowel coalesces with the vowel of the plural oblique; e.g., *pasān* (sing. *pāsa*) *sar āber!* 'slaughter (lit. cut the head of) the sheep!', *cerān* (sing. *cerā*) *dakoš!* 'extinguish the lamps!'.

9.3.1. Exceptions to the above rules are few: *bar* 'door' and *ka* 'house' are treated as masculine even when a single one is meant, e.g., *imi sāli em bar aškāje* (m.) 'next year this door will crack'; *ka xarāb bebe* (m.) 'the house collapsed'; *kia-m-i xerria* 'I bought a house'. This is also the case in the dialects of the other villages of the group.

9.3.2. When a noun is modified by *igla/ila* 'a, one' or *-i* 'a, one', or both, the sub-dialects show variation. In Karani and Lerdi they are generally treated as feminine, whereas in Dizi they are generally treated as masculine; e.g., Karani, *igla nān-em rā ku bind-ā* (f.) 'I saw a (loaf of) bread on the way', *igla pas-i xerria-š bi-ā* 'he had bought a sheep' (in ergative construction, as in this sentence, the verb agrees with its object, here *pas*); Lerdi, *man igla xar-i buxurtā* (f.) 'I sold a donkey'; Dizi: *rā-d-em bind ila mādiān bargenes* (m.) 'on the way I saw a mare fall (down a precipice)'. In Karnaqi the examples are mixed, cf. *i xelik-eš-i yuz-eš-i/kargxā-š-i/cakalu-š-i akat-ā bebard-eš-ā ku* 'he picked up a spade and took (it) to the mountains'<sup>6</sup>; *i yuz-eš-i/kargxā-š-i/cakalu-š-i akat-ā bebard-eš-ā ku* 'he picked up a walnut/ an egg/a rooster (and) took (it) to the mountains', but *igla kargxā-m akat* (m.), *rā-degenesim, jegensā* (f.) *beškesā* (f.) 'I took an egg, started off (lit. fell on the

6 The region being mountainous, *ku* 'mountain' generally stands for 'outdoors', 'the fields'.

way), (it) fell (and) broke'. In my examples, however, the feminine treatment of such cases is more frequent than masculine.<sup>7</sup>

9.3.3. When a noun is modified by the numeral two or above, it is treated as masculine, cf., *xāve-m ku igla asb-i-š m bindā* (f.) 'in my dream I saw a horse', but *xāve-m ku do-gla-m/panj-gla-m asb bind* (m.) 'in my dream I saw two/five horses'.

9.4. Exceptions occur. In some cases, a generic noun is treated as feminine, e.g., *la:natia miše x<sup>w</sup>aria* (f.) 'lit. snakes (sing.) eat mice (sing.)', *guzā šav xānia* (f.) 'frogs sing (during) the night', *kele, āng-a te gazzia* 'girl, a wasp will sting you', *xelik-a cāmā de: ku xia ku gerāntar-ā* 'in our village a spade is more expensive than (a wooden) shovel'. In such cases apparently the speaker envisages one of the kind or else they are symptomatic of the weakening of the rule. On the other hand, in *vājende pārsāl qālica/parda/zuza-dār/xar/pas/gerān be* (m. sing.) 'they say (that) last year, rugs/curtains/walnut trees/donkeys/sheep/were expensive', the rule is followed.

9.5. Feminine nouns change their feminine marker to -é in the oblique, e.g., *vey-é dass-é bigir* 'take the bride's hand (*vey-a* 'bride')'; *beša Zeynabé bāva yā!* 'go (and) bring Zeynaba here!' Note that *Fatēma* and *Šarabānu* following the rule do not change in the oblique.

9.6. Nouns ending in a stressed vowel do not change in the oblique singular; e.g., *pašmā biris!* 'spin the wool!', *cerā āgi!* 'light the lamp!', *du parpaši beka!* 'stir the *dugh* (diluted yogurt)!'.<sup>8</sup>

9.7. When a feminine noun is followed by an enclitic pronoun, the feminine marker -a is separated from the noun and follows the enclitic pronoun, cf. *i ruj beše ku naccira-bez-eš bezze* 'one day he went to the mountains (and) shot a wild goat', but *em naccira-bez-eš-a* (f.) *bezzi-ā bārd-eš-ā de:* 'he shot this wild goat (and) brought it to the village'; *gaves-eš-e igla naccira bez-i bezane* 'he wanted to shoot a wild goat'. Notice that as the agent of the verb the enclitic pronoun has come between the stem and the ending of the verb, both masculine and feminine (see 23. and 23.1. for further examples).

## 10. Definition

10.1. Definition has no particular device, but a noun can be made definite by a modifier such as an attributive or a possessive or a demonstrative adjective or by *igla* or *i* (see 9.3.2.).

7 In the following example: *igla pādešā-i be, igla asb-i-š dāšteya* (imperfect, m.), *asb-eš-a* (f.) *boxorut-ā, do-gla-š assar* (m.) *aragate* 'there was a king, (who) had a horse; he sold his horse (and) bought two mules', *igla... i* makes *asb* indefinite and therefore masculine, but in the second part, horse, now made definite, is treated as a feminine noun. As for *pādešā*, it is masculine because it refers to a male human, apart from being indefinite.

8 -i- is used in this dialect as *yā-e vābdat* in Persian to indicate 'a'.

11. *Adjectives*

11.1. Attributive adjectives precede head nouns and are connected to them by an unstressed *-a*; e.g., *kow-a assar-eš-a bemarkā* (f.) 'his gray mule died'.

11.2. Predicative adjectives follow head nouns and do not take *-a*; e.g., *dār-a kow<sup>9</sup> ābiā* 'the tree grew green', *dim-eš siā ābe* (sic., one expects *dim-eš-a siā ābiā*) 'his face grew black'.

11.3. When an adjective is used as a substantive, it takes the nominal case endings; e.g., *kok-é-š bāva!* 'bring a fat one!', *kok-é-š xorušesa-nde* 'the fat ones have been sold'.

11.4. *Comparison of Adjectives*. For comparison Persian *-tar* is used: *vahar šet-e ku sebi-tar-e* 'snow is whiter than milk', *hama ku kok-tar-a gow* 'the fattest cow (lit. fatter than all cows)'.

12. *The use of cases in substantives*

12.1. *The direct case* is used for 1) the subject of an intransitive verb in all tenses and moods, e.g., *kelle xānde karende* 'the girls are singing (lit. are doing the singing)'; *em bar deterekase* 'this door cracked', *pass-a* (f., sing.) *nāxoš ābiā* 'the sheep became sick', (see 15. ff. for further examples); 2) the subject of the imperative, the present, the subjunctive, the optative, that is, the tenses and moods of the transitive verbs built on the present stem (see 14.1. ff.); 3) the direct object of the tenses built on the present stem when generic, uncountable, or indefinite; e.g., *kār šim qand ara-gir-em* 'I am going to buy (hard) sugar' (see 9.1.); 4) the logical object of the verb (= grammatical subject) in an ergative construction (see 23), e.g., *man zer i pas-a sar-āberīā* (f.) 'yesterday I slaughtered a ewe', *man zer panj-gla asif x<sup>w</sup>arda* (m.) 'yesterday I ate five apples'; 5) the object of destination, e.g., *beššend beššend tā illā<sup>10</sup> raz* 'they continued going (lit. they went, went) up to the orchard'; 6) vocative, e.g., *Hasan, suke sar-āber!* 'Hasan, cut the rooster's head!'.

12.2. *The oblique case* is used for: (1) the genitive; e.g., *bar-e ceft-e jiran!* 'fasten the door's hasp!'; Dizi: *vey-é dass-é bigir* 'take the bride's hand (véy-a 'bride')'; (2) direct object of the tenses built on the present stem of the verb when singular and definite (see 14.1.); e.g., *ceman dass-e bigi!* 'take my hand!'; (3) the agent of the verb in an ergative construction: *dezz-é pul agat o devašt* 'the thief took the money and fled'; Dizi: *luās-é karg-eš-a begatā* 'the fox caught the hen', *karg-é xā beka* 'the hen laid an egg', *luās-é karg-ān bexārdand* 'the fox ate the hens' (one expects f. dir. *karge*, the use of obl. *kargān* shows a weakening of the ergative construction); (4) object of a postposition: *decekāmen-eš ka bar-é ku!* 'stick

<sup>9</sup> *kow* signifies both bluish gray and green, depending on the context.

<sup>10</sup> *Illā*, borrowed from Arab-Persian *elā* 'towards, until, up to', here used tautologically.

it on the house door!', *karg-é rā dāna ara-ka!* 'pour grain for the hen!'. In Dizi with the postposition *-ade* 'from, in' (Turk.?) the direct case is used, e.g., *otaq-ade/otaq-é-ku* 'from, in the room'.

13. *Pronouns*

13.1. Four sets of pronouns are used, three freestanding, namely, direct, oblique, and possessive, and one enclitic.

13.2. The direct pronouns are: 1. *az* 2. *te*, 3. *a* (m.), *áva* (f.), 4. *āmā*, 5. *šomā*, 6. *avé*; e.g., *az nāxoš bim* 'I was sick', *ava nāxoš biā* 'she was sick'.

13.3. The oblique pronouns differ from the direct ones only in the first person singular and the third persons: 1. *man*, 2. *te*, 3. *áve* (m./f.), 4. *āmā*, 5. *šomā*, 6. *avān*; e.g., *man áde!* 'give me!'; *man ku āpars!* 'ask me!'; *āmā pas be-košte* 'we have slaughtered sheep'; *man bāte*, *te bāte*, *áve bāte* (m./f.), *āmā bāte*, *šomā bāte*, *avān bāte* 'I said (was said by me, see 23), you said, etc.'

13.4. The possessive pronouns are: 1. *cemen/ceman*, 2. *ešte*, 3. *ca* (m./f.), 4. *comā*, 5. *šomā*, 6. *cān*; e.g., *a ceman-e* 'that is mine'. They serve also as possessive adjectives, e.g., *ceman dass-e bigi!* 'take my hand!'; *ca pus-a xub-ā* 'its skin is good'; *cān puss-e xub-ende* 'their skins are good'; they are used also as objects of the postposition *rā* 'for': *ceme rā* (i.e., *cemen rā*) *cāy dekal!* 'pour tea for me!'; *cān rā bāva!* 'bring for them!'. In Karnaqi the plural forms are: *cemā*, *šomā*, *cavān*. In Lerdí the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possessive pronoun is *ca* for masculine and *cave* for feminine; the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural is *cavān*. (For examples see 23).

13.5. The enclitic pronouns are: 1. *-(e)m*, 2. *-e(r)*, 3. *-(e)š*, 4. *-mān*, 5. *-rān*, 6. *-šān*. They are used as agents of past transitive verbs and as possessive pronouns; e.g., *bāt-eš-e pe-š bāyā*, *man zané* 'she said (if) his father comes, he will beat me (the first š is the agent, the second a possessive pronoun). For further examples see the ergative construction, 23.

13.6. *Demonstrative Pronouns*. Like personal pronouns, these have three forms: direct, oblique and possessive, each divided into proximate and remote; the gender is distinguished only in the singular.

	Sing./Pl.	Direct	Oblique	Possessive
Proximate	sing. m.	<i>em</i>	<i>emé</i>	<i>cemé</i>
	sing. f.	<i>éma</i>		
	pl.	<i>emé</i>		
Remote	sing. m.	<i>a</i>	<i>avé</i>	<i>cema</i>
	sing. f.	<i>áva</i>		
	pl.	<i>avé</i>		

Both demonstrative pronouns are also used as personal pronouns for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural. Examples: *em cāk-e* 'this is good (referring to a ram)', *ema cāk-ā* 'this is good (referring to a ewe)', *eme beba!* 'take this away!', *eme ku āpars!* 'ask this one/him!', *eme cākende* 'these are good', *emān beba!* 'take these away!', *come dass-e bigi!* 'take this one's hand/his hand!', *a cāk-e* 'that is good', *ava cāk-ā* 'she is good', *ave bāva!* 'bring that/him!', *ave nan* 'with that one', *avān bāva!* 'bring those!'.

#### 14. The Verb

14.1. Tenses and moods are built on two stems: the present and the past. Those based on the present stem are: the imperative, the present, the subjunctive, and the optative (used also for the conditional present); those built on the past stem are: the preterit, the imperfect, the past inchoative, the progressive past, the perfect, the pluperfect, and the conditional perfect. In all tenses the grammatical gender is distinguished in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (see 9.1.). In the present, the subjunctive, the optative-conditional present the gender is marked by adding *-a* to the masculine ending. In the past tenses the marker for the feminine is *-ā* (see 9. and below).

14.2. The imperative consists of the present stem and the modal prefix *be-*, if the verb is plain, that is, includes no preverb. The imperative endings (only 2<sup>nd</sup> persons) are *-ø* in the singular and *-ā* in the plural; e.g. *be-vaj!* 'weave!', *bi-gi(r)!* 'take!', *de-vaz!* 'run!', *de-vazā!* (pl.), *be-nj* (i.e., *be-benj*)! 'drink!'. The final *-r* of verbal stems tend to drop out in the singular, but appear in the plural; e.g., *ara-gi!* 'take, lift!', *ara-girā!* (pl.), *ā-ka!* 'open!', *ā-karā!* (pl.).

NB. The singular imperative of 'to come' is *būre*, the plural *bāyā*. In Dizi the singular may be without ending or may have *-en* as its ending, e.g., *be-xos/be-xos-en!* 'sleep!', *be-bar/be-bar-en!* 'take away!'.

14.3. The prohibitive particle is *ma-*. When the verb contains a preverb, *ma-* comes between the preverb and the verb; e.g., *de-ma-vaz!* 'don't run!', *ā-ma-ka!* 'don't open!'.

14.4. When the preverb is *ara-*, the prohibitive marker splits it into *a* and *ra*, e.g., *ara-gi!* 'take!', *a-ma-ra-gi!* 'don't take!'.

14.5. The negative particle is *na*, the vowel of which is subject to assimilation (*ni*, *na*, *nu*; see 5., 5.1.). In verbs with a preverb it comes, like *ma*, between the preverb and the verbal stem, e.g., *de-ne-vaz-em* 'I don't run', *ā-ne-karem* 'I don't open', *a-ne-ra-gir-em* 'I won't take'.

15. The present is built with the present stem of the verb and the present endings, which are: 1- *em*, 2- *i*, 3- *e* (m.) *-ea/-ia* (f.), 4- *ām*, 5- *ā*, 6- *-(e)nd(e)*; e.g., *xos(s)-em*, *xos(s)-i*, *xos(s)e/xos(s)ia*, *xos(s)-ām*, *xos(s)-ā*, *xos(s)-end* 'I sleep, you sleep,

etc.'. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular feminine, the ending *-e* tends to narrow into *-i*; *izéma eškāji-a* 'the firewood cracks (*eškāje*, m.)'; *ārassem de:* 'I reach the village', *agar xāra be-ši-a*, *ā-ne-gardi-a* 'if the donkey (f.) goes, it will not return', *kele, ānga te gazzi-a* 'girl! the wasp (f.) will sting you'. Occasionally the feminine ending in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is lengthened, possibly on the analogy of the preterit (cf. note 8), e.g., *xossia/xossia* 'she sleeps'.

15.1. The inchoative present adds a fixed form of *kar-* 'to do', namely *kāri*, as auxiliary to the present, e.g., *az kāri vazzem* 'I intend to run, I am about to run, I am going to run', *az kāri jigenem* 'I am about to fall', *kāri xossem* 'I am about to sleep, I am going to bed', *te kāri vazze* 'you are about to run, you have started running'. Lerdī apparently does not use this tense.

16. The subjunctive is built like the present, except that it takes the modal prefix *be-*, when the stem is plain; 1. *az nezānem bevrijem*, 2. *te nezāni bevriji*, 3. *a nezāne bevrije* (m.), *bevrija* (f.)<sup>11</sup>, 4. *bevrijām*, 5. *bevrijā*, 6. *bevrijend* 'I don't know (how) to run, you don't know (how) to run, etc.'; 1. *az ga bevazz-em*, 2. *te ga bevazz-i*, 3. *bevazz-e(m)*, *bevazz-ea/ia* (f.), 4. *bevazz-ām*, 5. *bevazz-ā*, 6. *bevazz-ende* 'I must run away (or jump), you must run away', etc.

17. The optative is built with the present stem, the modal prefix *be-* and the optative marker *-ā* which precedes the endings: 1- *ā-m*, 2- *ā-š*, 3- *ā* (m.), *ā-ya* (f.), 4- *ā-ymān*, 5- *ā-yrān*, 6- *ā-nde*, the endings being a variation of the present of the verb 'to be' (see 21.1.). In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine singular a connective *-y-* comes between the optative marker and the feminine ending, thus *ā-y-a*; e.g., *xodā este piar bi-āmorz-ā* 'may God absolve your father', *xodā xorāsān-er qesmat be-kar-ā* 'may God make (it) your lot (to visit) Khorāsān (i.e., the shrine of the eighth Imam which is in Khorāsān), *yamān-er agevā* 'may you get anthrax (i.e., may you be afflicted by anthrax)', *kur bebāš* 'may you become blind', *kur bebā* (m.) 'may he become blind', *kur bebāya* (f.) 'may she become blind', *dim-er seter, kāfir a-kar-ā-m* 'may I (have the occasion) to pour *seter* and camphor on your face'<sup>12</sup>; *dimer taxa sare ku bu-šur-ā-ymān* 'may we wash your face on a (wooden)board (i.e., may you die)', *marazin be-b-ā-š* 'may you (sing.) become a leper', *qara yer be-š-ā-š* 'may you go to black earth (i.e., may you be buried)<sup>13</sup>, *cašm-er marda-lāvin be-mān-ā-nde* 'may the corpse-washer close your eyes (sing.)<sup>14</sup>, *xodā makar-ā āfto<sup>wa</sup>a* (f.) *bigirisia* 'God forbid that the sun be eclipsed (lit. be seized)'.

11 In Lerdī *bevrija*.

12 This is a curse meaning 'may I see you dead'; *Seter* is the dialectal form of *seter*, a powder made of dried leaves of the lot-tree. It is customary to sprinkle the aromatic *seter* and camphor on the body of the deceased after washing it.

13 Both *qara* and *yer* are Turkish words.

14 The literal meaning of *mān-* is not clear in this example; the meaning of the sentence was given as above.



17.1. Occasionally the subjunctive is used instead of the optative, e.g., *i yagā-y be-mar-i ke bu-r de-gen-ā* 'may you die in a place where you may rot' (lit. 'that [bad] smell may fall on you'; the second verb is the normal optative); *karbalā bi-š-i iššālā* 'may you go to Karbala (to visit the shrine of the third Imam), God willing'<sup>15</sup>.

17.2. Karnaqi has no particular formation for the optative, but uses the subjunctive instead; e.g., *javān bemare* 'may he die young'. However, in the following example the optative form is used for conditional present: *aga tond be-mej-āš geni* 'if you walk fast, you will fall'.

18. *The optative* is used also for the conditional present; e.g., 1. *agar be-vrij-ā-m genem*, 2. *agar be-vrij-ā-š geni*, 3. *agar be-vrij-ā gene* (m.), *agar be-vrij-āya genia* (f.), etc. 'if I run, I fall/I shall fall', etc.' But the subjunctive is also used as conditional present, e.g., *agar bivriji, pā-r-a šegia* (f.) 'if you run your foot will break'. (Notice that the feminine marker *-a* comes after the second person enclitic pronoun *-r-*).

19. *The progressive present* is built with the past participle of the verb and the present of *kar-* 'to do'; e.g., 1. *az āmia karem*, 2. *te āmia kari*, 3. *a āmia kare* (m.), *ava āmia karia* (f.), 4. *āmia karām*, 5. *āmia karān*, 6. *āmia karend* 'I am (in the process of) coming, you are (in the process of) coming, etc.' (equivalent to Persian *dāram miyāyam*, *dāri miyāyi*, etc.). Karnaqi: *marda karem* 'I am dying', *del-em-a dassa karia* (f.) 'my stomach is aching'.

NB. The informants could not always distinguish between the inchoative and the progressive present, but from many examples which were elicited the difference became fairly clear.

19.1. In Lerdi the progressive present is made with the past participle of the verb and the endings of the present, a buffer *-r-* connecting the two, and the accent falling on the last syllable of the participle; e.g., 1. *viritā-r-em*, 2. *viritā-r-i*, 3. *viritā-r-a*, *viritā-r-iā* (f.), 4. *viritā-r-ām*, 5. *viritā-r-ā*, 6. *viritā-r-ende* 'I am running, you are running', etc. (cf. 21.)

20. *Tenses built on the past stem*. The past tenses and moods are essentially periphrastic, employing the verb 'to be' as auxiliary. Therefore the conjugation of the latter is given first.

## 21. 'To be'

21.1. The Present of 'to be' (from the root \**ab-*) is: 1. *-im*, 2. *-iš(e)*, 3. *-e* (m.), *-ā* (f.), 4. *-imān*, 5. *-irān*, 6. *-end(e)*; e.g., *az nāxoš-im*, *ava nāxoš-ā*, *ave nāxoš-ende*

15 That is *en šāallāb* lit. 'if God willed', but in Persian the Arabic phrase has come to express hope rather than condition.

'I am sick, she is sick, they are sick', *a(v) yetyār-e* 'he is a farmer'<sup>16</sup>, *avé/eme yetyār-ende* 'they are farmers', *a šuānā-e* 'he is a shepherd'.

21.2. When the subject ends in a vowel, a connective sound, *-y-* or *-r-*, may intervene before the vowel of the ending; e.g., *a(z) ca zā-y-im* 'I am his son', *yā-r-im* 'I am here', *ave vā-r-ende* 'they are there'.

21.3. The negative present of 'to be' is: 1. *nim*, 2. *niš*, 3. *nie* (m.), 3. *niā* (f.), 4. *nimān*, 5. *nirān*, 6. *ninde*

21.4. A freestanding form of the present of the verb 'to be', based on the secondary stem *es(s)-*, is also used: 1. *essim*, 2. *essiš*, 3. *esse* (m.), *essā* (f.), 4. *essiman*, 5. *essirān*, 6. *essende* 'I am, I exist, etc.'. This form has no negative, for which *nim*, *niš*, *nie*, etc. is used; e.g., *yebudi vāje xodā nie* 'the unbeliever says there is no God' (cf. *juhud* 'Jew').

21.5. Other tenses and moods of the verb 'to be' are built on a different base, \**bav-*. The tenses built on this base, depending on the context, may mean 'to be', or 'to become', although the proper stem for 'to become' includes the preverb *ā-*, as is the case in similar dialects, e.g., *mariz ā-bim* 'I became sick'.

21.6. The imperative of 'to be' is *be-bāš!* and the plural *be-bā!*; e.g., *jeqclae, xubi bebā tā āmā āgardām* 'be you good, children, until we return'.

21.7. The subjunctive of 'to be' is 1. *bi-bim*, 2. *bi-bi*, 3. *bi-bi* (m.), *bi-biā* (f.), 4. *be-bām*, 5. *be-bā*, 6. *bi-binde*; e.g., *piar-em vāte az xub bibim* 'my father said (that) I should be good'.

21.8. The optative-conditional present of 'to be' is made by adding the optative-conditional marker *-ā* before the endings; e.g., 1. *be-bām*, 2. *be-bāš*, 3. *be-bā* (m.), *be-bā-y-ā* (f.), 4. *be-bāymān*, 5. *be-bāyrān*, 6. *be-bānde*; *marazin be-bāš!* 'may you become a leper'; *agar virājem be-bāš, ji-ni-gimi* 'if you should be careful, you will not fall'.

21.9. The inchoative of 'to be' is: 1. *kāri bim*, 2. *kāri bi*, 3. *kāri bi* (m.), *kāri biā* (f.), 4. *kāri bām*, 5. *kāri bā*, 6. *kāri binde*; *kāri bi* 'it is about to be done, it is being done'

21.10. The progressive present of 'to be' and 'to become' is formed as in other verbs, thus: 1. *bia karem*, 2. *bia kari*, 3. *bia kare*, 4. *bia karām*, 5. *bia karā*, 6. *bia karend* 'I am becoming/I am in the process of becoming, you are becoming/you are in the process of becoming, etc.'; *kū bia kare* 'the squash is being done (lit. is becoming)'.

21.11. The preterit of 'to be' is: 1. *bim*, 2. *biš*, 3. *be* (m.), *biā* (f.), 4. *bimān*, 5. *birān*, 6. *bende*; e.g., *vā bim* 'I was there', cf. *mariz ābiš* 'you became/were sick (sing.)'.

16 Cf. Persian *juft-kār*.

21.12. The imperfect of 'to be' is built like the preterit except that it includes the marker *-i* which precedes the endings; in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, however, it follows the ending. In practice the *-i-* changes to *-y-*; thus, 1. *beyim/beym(e)*, 2. *beyiš*, 3. *beyi* (m.), *beya* (f.), 4. *beymān*, 5. *beyrān*, 6. *bendey*. The negative is *ne beym*, *ne bey*, etc.

21.13. The perfect differs from the imperfect only in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural, thus, 1. *beym*, 2. *beyš*, 3. *bia(e)* (m.), *biā* (f.), 4. *beymān*, 5. *beyrān*, 6. *biande*; e.g. *do mā-e ku mariz biaē* 'it is two months since he has been sick'; *kū biā-e?* 'has the squash been done? (lit. has it become?)'.

21.14. The pluperfect of 'to be' is built from the past participle of 'to be' and the preterit of the same as the auxiliary, thus: 1. *bia bim*, 2. *bia biš*, 3. *bia be* (m.), *bia biā* (f.), 4. *bia bimān*, 5. *bia birān*, 6. *bia bende*.

## 22. The Past Tenses

22.1. The preterit of intransitive verbs is built with the past stem of the verb, the modal prefix *be-*, if the stem is plain, and the preterit endings, which are in fact the present of the verb 'to be' even though they differ from it slightly, e.g., 1. *bevrīt-em*, 2. *bevrīt-iš*, 3. *bevrīt* (m.), *bevrīt-ā* (f.), 4. *bevrīt-imān*, 5. *bevrīt-irān*, 6. *bevrīt-ende* 'I ran, you ran, etc.'

22.1.1. The preterit endings in Dizi are: 1. *-eym*, 2. *-ey*, 3. *-ø*, 4. *-eymān*, 5. *-eyrān*, 6. *-end* with the accent falling on the last syllable of the stem; e.g., *be-xōt-eym* 'I slept', *ne-xōt-eym* 'I did not sleep'.

22.1.2. The preterit of transitive verbs, like all other transitive verbs, follows the ergative construction.

23. The Ergative construction. In constructions of transitive verbs in the past the verb accords with its logical object (grammatical subject) and therefore is either singular or plural. If it is singular and refers to an individual object, the verb assumes the feminine ending irrespective of the actual or grammatical gender of the object. On the other hand, if the object denotes a generic or uncountable noun or more than one of a kind, then the verb assumes the masculine ending. If the object is plural no distinction in gender is made. The agent (the grammatical object) of the verb is put in the oblique case. If the agent is a pronoun, the oblique pronoun is used. The pronoun distinguishes the gender in the singular, unless the agent is expressed by an enclitic pronoun. Examples: *man zer xā x<sup>w</sup>arda* 'yesterday I ate eggs (generic, sing.)', *man zer yūz x<sup>w</sup>arda* 'yesterday I ate walnuts (generic, sing.)', but *man zer i(g)la xā-y* (i.e., *xā-i*) *x<sup>w</sup>ard-ā* 'yesterday I ate one egg (f.)', *man zer i(g)la yūz-i-m x<sup>w</sup>ard-ā* 'yesterday I ate one walnut (f.)', *man zer i asifi x<sup>w</sup>ard-ā* (f.) 'yesterday I ate one apple', but *man zer panj-gela asif x<sup>w</sup>arda* 'yesterday I ate five apples (i.e., five of the kind)', *man zer pass-i sar-*

*āberīā* 'yesterday I slaughtered a sheep (f. because a singular sheep is meant)', *man zer qōca sar-āberīā* (f.) 'yesterday I slaughtered a ram (f., despite the natural gender)', *man zer pas(s)e-m sar-āberinde* 'yesterday I slaughtered sheep (pl.)'; *ow-em hinta* 'I drank water (m., uncountable)', *nun-em x<sup>w</sup>arda* 'I ate bread (m., generic)', *karg-em x<sup>w</sup>arda* 'I ate chicken (generic, m. lit. hen, despite the natural gender)', *i(g)la karg-em x<sup>w</sup>ardā* 'I ate one chicken', *man pas be-košte* 'I killed sheep', *man pas(s)-i be-koštā* 'I killed one sheep' (see also 24.1.3.).

23.1. When a noun is defined by a possessive adjective or by a noun which stands in genitive relation to it, if it refers to a single item, it is treated as feminine. However, when a noun is thus specified, but refers to a generic noun, it is treated as masculine, e.g., *Hasan-e cemen gandem beba* 'Hasan took away my wheat (generic, m.)', *Hasan-e cemen bādām-eš bedezzi* 'Hasan stole my almonds (generic, m.)', but *Hasan-e cemen vek(k)a bebardā* 'Hasan took away my kidney' (referring to the kidney of a sheep belonging to Hasan, f.), *Hasan-e cemen jgarbān-eš-a bebard-ā* 'Hasan took away my jegarband<sup>17</sup>', *Hasan-e bezze šāx-a beškes-ā* 'Hasan broke the goat's horn (definite and sing., f.)', *Hasan-e cemen xiār-a bedezzi-ā* 'Hasan stole my cucumber (definite and sing., f.)'.

N.B. In past transitive verbs there is a semblance of gender distinction in the first and second persons, e.g., *āfto<sup>w</sup>-em-a bind-ā* 'I saw the sun', *āfto<sup>w</sup>-em-a vinda-y-ā* 'I have seen the sun', but in fact, according to the ergative construction, all verbs are either the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, if the object is singular, or 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, if the object is plural (the sun, f., was seen/has been seen by me).

23.2. According to the above, past transitive verbs have only two forms, both agreeing with the object of the verb, which can be either singular or plural (see 23); e.g., *man xalow-em dekarde* 'I put on my clothes', *xelig-em-a* (f.) *agati-ā* 'I picked up my spade'; *giabāne gove* (pl.) *be-bard-ende cārenesne nā* 'the cow-herds took the cows for grazing'; *man gandeme* (pl.) *bida agatande xarmane kanāre ku* 'I gathered the wheat (pl.) on the side of the threshing ground', *man alu koffā bebarde* (-em) 'I carried the apricots (collective, sing.) up(stairs), (i.e., to the roof to dry)'.

23.3. A semblance of a conjugation with the enclitic pronouns serving as the agents of the verb (with or without freestanding corresponding oblique pronouns), is formed as in the following examples from Dizi: 1. (*man*) *bexard-em-e*, 2. (*te*) *bexard-er-e*, 3. (*ave*) *bexard-eš-e*, 4. (*amā*) *bexard-emān-e*, 5. (*šemā*) *bexard-erān-e*, 6. (*avān*) *bexard-ešān-e* (-e is apparently euphonic), or else *man*, *te*, *ave*, *amā*, *šemā*, *avān nān bexard(e)* 'I, you, he, etc. ate bread (lit. bread is eaten by me, etc.)'.

24. The imperfect is built with the past stem of the verb plus the imperfect marker *-e* and the preterit endings, of which the initial vowel changes to *-y-*,

17 Combined liver, lungs, and heart of a slaughtered animal.

with stress falling on the last syllable of the stem, e.g., *az har ruja virit-e-ym ka nan te ku* 'I used to run (= I would run) every day from the house to the mountains'; *virit-e-ym*, *virit-e-yš*, *virit-e-ya*, *virit-e-ymān*, *virit-e-yrān*, *virit-e-ndey* 'I used to run/I would run, you used to run/you would run', etc. Notice that in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural the marker follows the ending, although sometimes it comes before the ending; e.g., *bešt-e-ynde* 'they would get up'. Judging by the marker in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, one might say that the imperfect marker is *-ey*, developed from a combination of the marker *-e* and the initial vowel of the endings. The negative is: *ne-virit-eym* 'I used not to run', *de-ne-vašt-eym* 'I used not to flee'<sup>18</sup>.

24.1. In Lerdi the imperfect is built with the past stem of the verb plus the preterit endings: 1. *-i-m*, 2. *-i-š*, 3. *-i*<sup>19</sup>, which differs from the preterit only in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular; e.g., *az jüe sarek<sup>20</sup> ruji sorra vaštım* 'I used to jump over the stream three times a day' (cf. *az jüe sare bevaštım* 'I jumped over the stream'); *kula ruji sorra berdamesi/viriti* 'the boy used to cry/run three times a day'.

24.1.1. In Dizi the imperfect is the same as the preterit (see 22.1.1.), except that it does not take the modal prefix *be-* and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular the ending is *-ey*; e.g. (transitive): *pārsāl harruz-em pelā xard-ey* (or *harruz... xard-ey-m-e*) 'last year I used to eat pilaf every day'.

24.1.2. Karnaqi follows the Karani pattern; e.g., *pār har-ru šeym ku* 'last year everyday I used to go to the mountains', *hic nexorus-eym* 'I used not to laugh at all'; transitive: *biš angir nox<sup>w</sup>arde-me* (or *angir-em nox<sup>w</sup>ardi*) 'I used not to eat grapes at all'.

24.1.3. In the transitive verbs only the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural are used according to the rules of the ergative construction (see 22.1.2. and 23.); e.g., *avaxti az harruj xābe ku pā bešteym*, *xalow-em dekardey*, *nemāzem xāndey*, *xelig-em-a* (f.) *agateya*, *šeym raz owa-dāri rā* 'in those times, every day I used to get up from sleep, put on my clothes, say (my) prayers, pick up my spade (f.) (and) would go to orchards (sing.) for irrigation'. In the negative, the marker *ne-* comes between the preverb and the verb, e.g., *avaxti hic-vaxt sabsabā ne-yšteym*, *nemāzem ne-xāndey*, *xelig-em-a a-ne-gateya* (f.) *raz ne-šeym* 'in those times, I would never get up in the early morning ..... would not go to orchards'.

25. The past inchoative is formed with the imperfect of the verb and the auxiliary *kāri*, which does not change with persons; e.g., *kāri devašt-eym*, *pā-m-a* (f.) *ālāqes-ā segé*, *begenessim* 'I was about to run away/I wanted to run away, when my foot hit (a) stone (and) I fell'.

18 No example for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine occurs in my notes.

19 No example for the feminine was noted (probably *-iā*), or for the plural.

20 *-k* is puzzling; in the next example I have noted only *sare*.

25.1. Lerdi uses what appears to be the oblique of the infinitive for this tense, e.g., *vaqti ke āš-emān patan-é*, *divār-emān be-serr-es* 'when we were about to cook āš (a thick soup) our wall collapsed', *b-ām-em kāqaz nešetan-é*, *qalam-(e) m-a* (f.) *beškesā* 'I was about (lit. I came) to write a letter (when) my pen broke'.

26. The progressive past is formed with the past participle of the verb and the imperfect of the auxiliary *kar-/kard-*; e.g., *viritā kardeym* 'I was running/I was in the process of running' (Pers. *dāštam midavidam*). Karnaqi: *pār del-em-a dassa kardaya* (f.), *marda kardım* 'last year my stomach was aching, I was dying'; *te cekār kardai vārān bebāres* 'what were you doing (when) the rain fell?'

26.1. In Lerdi the continuous past is built with the past participle of the verb and the imperfect endings, with *-rd-* added in between, e.g., *az beramesā-rd-em/im pī-m bāma* 'I was weeping (when) my father came', *te beš azir viritā-rd-eš?* 'was it you (sing.) yesterday (who) was running?', *a beramesa-rd-e* 'he was weeping', *ava beramesa-rd-ia* 'she was weeping'. The other endings are *-emān*, *-erān*, *-ende* (the initial *-e-* of the endings is narrowed, approaching *-i-*; *-rd-* may have developed from *kard?*) Transitive: *man izem ā-škāta-rd-e āsmāna-xorri bebe* 'I was cutting firewood (when) there was a thunder', *man nān x<sup>w</sup>arda-rd-e pe-m deše* 'I was eating bread (when) my father came in', *šum-em zia-rd-e* 'I was tilling' (lit. 'I was hitting tillage').

27. The perfect is built by the past participle of the verb with the stress falling on its last syllable, and the endings, which consist of the present of the auxiliary 'to be', except that when the ending begins with *i-*, the *-a* of the participle changes to *-e* while the *-i-* itself becomes *-y-*, thus, 1. *viritē-ym*, 2. *viritē-yš*, 3. *viritā* (m.), *viritā* (f.), 4. *viritē-ymān*, 5. *viritē-yrān*, 6. *viritā-nde* 'I have run', etc. The negative is: 1. *viritā nim*, 2. *viritā niš*, 3. *viritā ni* (m.), *viritā niā* (f.), 4. *viritā nimān*, 5. *viritā nirān*, 6. *viritā ninde* 'I have not run', etc.; e.g., *te dassā* (< *dā assā*) *omre ku devašte-yš? ba:le*, *xeyli devašte-ym* 'have you ever (lit. till now) run in (your) life? Yes, I have run much'. Notice that the past participle of intransitive verbs has, as in Persian, a gerundive sense.

28. The pluperfect is built with the past participle of the verb and the preterit of the auxiliary 'to be', e.g., *te bāmīš az xotta bim* '(when) you came I had gone to sleep (I was asleep)', *az bāmim te šia biš* '(when) I came you had left', *az bāmim*, *Hasan šia be* (m.)/*Zeynaba šia biā* (f.) '(when) I came Hasan/Zeynab had left'.

28.1. In Dizi the pluperfect, which is used also for unreal past conditional, is formed similarly, except that the auxiliary is *beym*, *beyš*, *bey*, etc.

29. The conditional perfect. Karani possesses two conditional perfects: the conditional perfect *I* is built with the past participle of the verb and the conditional

present-optative of the auxiliary 'to be'; e.g., *aga az virita bām xodā xošta rā zāne* 'should I have run, God knows Himself (lit. by himself)', *aga te virita bās* 'should you have run', *aga man vāta bā* 'should I have said', *aga devašta bā, āxer-eš girende* 'should he have fled, in the end they (would) catch him'.

29.1. *The conditional perfect II* is built with the past participle of the verb and the imperfect of the auxiliary 'to be', e.g., *aga virita beym* 'if I had run', *aga devašta bey*, *gulla-šān zey* 'if he had run away, they would have shot (him with) bullet(s)', *aga virita bey pā-š-a šegeseya* 'if he had run, his foot (f.) would have broken (lit. would break)'. Karnaqi: *agar virita bey pāš eškese(a)* 'if he had run, his foot would have broken'.

### 30. *Passive and Causative*

30.1. *The passive* is marked only in the past tenses. In the preterit it is formed by adding *-est* to the present stem, e.g., *nun be-x<sup>w</sup>ar-est* 'the bread was eaten', cf. *ave nun be-x<sup>w</sup>ārd* 'he ate bread'; *divār āškāj-est* 'the wall got cracked', *oweš bi-gir-est*, *de-kar-ām kisa* 'when it is drained (lit. 'when the water is taken', referring to the draining of cheese or yogurt), we pour (it in a) bag'; *xub besuj-est*, *xāk ābi* '(when) it was well burnt it becomes ash'. No example in the present tense could be elicited. In the present tenses the passive is expressed by the auxiliary 'to become' as is the case in Nowkiāni and Persian, e.g., *gol-a kāra ābiā* (f.) 'the flower is about to become (= to open)'.

30.2. *The causative* is made by adding *-āmen* to the present stem; e.g., *be-xur!* 'laugh!', *be-xur-āmen!* 'make laugh!', *be-vrij!* 'run!', *be-vrij-āmen!* 'make run!', *be-xos!* 'go to sleep!', *be-xoss-āmen!* 'put to bed!', *benj* (i.e., *be-benj!*) 'drink!', *benj-āmen!* 'make drink!'.

30.1.1. In a limited number of verbs the causative is formed by adding *-en* to the present stem. In such cases if the present stem contains the vowel *-a-*, it is lengthened to *-ā-*; e.g., *be vaz!* 'jump!' *eme be vāzen!* 'make him (lit. this one) jump!', *de-vaz!* 'run away!', *de-vāz-en!* 'make run away!, help to flee!', *ma-tars!* 'don't fear!', *ma tārs-en!* 'don't frighten!', *teraki* 'you will burst', *beterāk-en!* 'make burst!' Some verbs show both forms; e.g., *ālāqen/ālāqāmen!* 'make hang!'.

30.1.2. In Lerdi the causative stem is made by adding *-ān* to the present stem; e.g., *bu-xur-ān* 'make laugh', *xordane ma-xur-ān* 'don't make the child laugh', *ma-bram-ān* 'don't make cry', *zoqāle ma-sujān* 'don't burn the charcoal', *bi-vrij-ān* 'make run', *ma-vrij-ān* 'don't make run' (< *vrij-* with metathesis).

### 31. *Verbal non-finite forms*

31.1. *The infinitive.* The infinitive is made from the past stem plus *-an*; e.g., *šeta-sar gat-an-e* (obl.) *balad niā* 'she does not know (how) to make cream (lit. to

take milk-top)', *cakma*<sup>21</sup> *nivis-an balad niā* 'she does not know (how) to rock the skin (for making butter)'; *āmian o šian* 'coming and going, socializing'.

31.2. *The gerund.* The gerund is made as in Persian and probably under its influence by adding *-ān* to the present stem, e.g., *nafas zi-ān zi-ān bāma* 'he came gasping (*zi-* 'to hit', *nafas zian* 'to gasp')'.

31.2.1. Karnaqi generally repeats a gerund built from the past or present stem and the morpheme *-an* to indicate a continuous state or activity, e.g., *xorus-an xorus-an āmia kardeynde* 'they were coming (while) laughing', *langes-an langes-an* 'limping', *ca-šān sar arakus-an arakus-an* '(while) knocking on their (own) heads', but exceptionally (it seems) *duš kard-an āmia kardeynde* 'they were coming (while) dancing (lit. making dance). For 'weeping' a different form is used; *beram-āni bāmenda* 'they came weeping'.

31.3. *The agent noun.* The agent noun (examples only from transitive verbs) is made from the present stem of the verb, which is normally preceded by its nominal complement (accusative); e.g., *pārca-vaj* 'weaver of cloth', *šeta-duš* 'milker of milk', *izem-āškāj* 'firewood cutter (lit. cracker)'; *dāyra-zan-ešān āvarda* 'they brought a tambourine player (generic)'.

31.4. A verbal adjective with participial sense is made by adding *-ār* to the present stem (as in Persian); e.g., Lerdi: *em ādam xruš-ār niā* 'this person is not (a) seller', *xeri-ār niā* 'is not (a) buyer' (i.e., 'is not a buying type, cannot be expected to buy'), *em assar-a zenda-mānār niā* (f.) 'this mule is not remaining alive (too sick to live)', *em ādam pul diār ni* 'this person is not a payer of money', *em cu-a xošk ābiār niā* 'this wood is not a drying (kind, lit. becoming dry)'. Karnaqi: *em gāwa mānār niā* 'this cow is not lasting', *em ādam xorusār ni* 'this man is not a seller'.

31.5. *Verbal noun.* A verbal noun is made by adding a stressed *-i* to the agent noun, thus *pārca-vaj-i* 'cloth weaving', *šeta-duš-i* 'milking', *izem-āškāj-i* 'firewood cutting', *nāna-paj-i* 'bread baking'; Lerdi: *tania derani* 'kindling the oven', *neyra ašādani* 'rocking the churn', *gūrna vaji* 'weaving socks'.

31.6. *The past participle.* The past participle is made by adding stressed *-a* to the past stem, e.g., *owjaressa* 'finished (*owjar-owjares(s)-* 'to finish'; see 27 for further examples).

32. *Personal Names.* The following masculine names were noted: names with *-Ali*: Baxš-ali, Sombol-ali, Xān-ali, Sabr-ali, Moharam-ali, Zolf-ali, Ešq-ali, Quc-ali, Beyrām-ali<sup>22</sup>; names with Islamic connotations: Aliyār-Mohammad, Xodā-karim, Salmān, Qāsem, Nazar, Sayyādollā (hunting for God?), Gharib,

21 *cakmā* (Persian *mašk*) is the skin used for making butter and storing ghee, cheese, etc.

22 Apparently a form of Bahramali, or else Turkish *beyrām* 'new year'.

Yāsin; Persian names or names having a dominant Persian component: Anuš, Baxtiār, Rostam, Sartip, Firuz, Farāmarz, Gol-āqā, Xoš-sāat, Belbel; Turkish names or names with a Turkish element: Almān, Mehdi-qoli, Rezā-qoli, Bālājān, Bālā-je, Tār-verdi; others: Ketāb, Ādam, Edris, Rašid, Askar, Sāleh, Sabur, Mahmud, Aziz, Yagan, Nāzer, Abusaid, Teymur.

Feminine names. Persian names or names with a Persian element: Gol-tāj, Nim-tāj, Sar-tāj, Cerā (Persian Cehreh), Nur-jahān, Gol-cin, Gol-cera, Del-ārā, Šar-bānu, Gol-rox, Goli, Eyn-jahān, Gol-bun, Golestān, Farangis, Banoša (< Banafšeh), Kucuk; Arabic names: Effat, Kobrā, Šowkat, Fātma, Latifa, Rahima, Ešrat, Xadija, Sāleha, Halima, Kolsom (< Kolthum), Sari'a, Šamāyel, Jamila, Sakina; Turkish names: Gullar, Asli (a character in a Turkish story); names implying a wish (generally expressing the wish for no more children): Gol-bas, Tāri-bas (in Turkish *Tāri* 'God'), Kin-vas (*kina* 'girl'), Āvān-bas (apparently from \**āmān-bas*), Sārā; others: Antiqā (< \**atiqa* 'antique?'), Ausāndeq (?).

## Turco-Sogdian features

YUTAKA YOSHIDA, Kyoto

### Introduction

It is my greatest pleasure to contribute this paper to the volume in honour of Professor NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS's 60<sup>th</sup> birthday. As one of his earliest students I learned Sogdian from him at SOAS for one academic year in 1981–1982 when we both were still very young. Among the texts which he read with me were a few very late Sogdian texts containing a number of Uighur or Turkish elements. They were subsequently published by him in collaboration with the late Professor J. HAMILTON (*Documents turco-sogdiens du IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-houang* = DTS).

From the linguistic point of view, this material is quite unique in that the Sogdian dialect or variety found in it not only contains many Turkish names but also shows expressions based on Turkish idioms and constructions influenced by Turkish syntax. That is the reason why SIMS-WILLIAMS and HAMILTON called the language "turco-sogdien". As a Sogdianist, I am absolutely certain that this unique variety of Sogdian written in horrible cursive script would not have been at all comprehensible without SIMS-WILLIAMS's profound insight and formidable competence in things Sogdian. In any case I greatly benefited from their results when I myself began to edit three Manichaean Sogdian letters (Letters A, B, and C) discovered at a ruined cave in Bāzāklik, Turfan.<sup>1</sup>

While the idea that Uighur or Old Turkic influenced Sogdian was at that time quite new and astonishing, the opposite direction of influence had been taken for granted.<sup>2</sup> Many Sogdian loanwords are found in Old Turkic and the long-standing symbiosis of the two peoples is widely attested in historical sources.<sup>3</sup> Among other things, the so-called Uighur script is derived from the cursive variant of Sogdian script. Thus, the bulk of studies of the linguistic aspect of Sogdo-Turkish or Sogdo-Uighur language contact has been done

- 1 My edition was subsequently published in China, cf. YOSHIDA 2000. The expanded and revised English version is in preparation.
- 2 In this article I follow M. ERDAL in that I refer to Uighur and other old Turkish languages as Old Turkic, cf. ERDAL 2004, pp. 6–22.
- 3 On the history of the Sogdo-Turkish relationship see now GOLDEN 2006.